1: Burrows--146 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 627 Ifalik

"On the evidence at hand, the government seems to confine itself to a rather narrow jurisdiction in enforcing rules of conduct. Malicious talk, idling or malingering, theft, and failure to observe the restrictions imposed on menstruating women were the kinds of misconduct rebuked by the chiefs at the public meetings. From other sources, to be discussed shortly, violence and some kinds of sexual misconduct can be added to the list. Other rules--and in some instances, even those just mentioned--seem to be enforced only by public opinion, as expressed particularly in gossip; or by concerted action within a small group of relatives--a household or two or three closely related households; or by fear of supernatural punishment.

Positive sanctions for observance of these rules consist mainly of continued trust, friendliness, and co-operation. Promotion to higher status, another way to reward approved conduct, has little scope in Ifalik, where status is so largely a matter of descent and primogeniture. Yet informal promotion to higher standing in general esteem is constantly operative; and, though the absence of any marked tendency to compete with others or excel them in good works makes the operation of public approval inconspicuous, the general smoothness of human relationships suggests that the desire for approval may be a powerful motive.

Negative sanctions to punish breach of the rules follow a general pattern of retribution in kind, with increasing severity for repeated offences. Sarfert obtained a list of punishments for specific offenses, like a criminal code. Being based only on verbal testimony

--and presumably on only one questioning--it is probably over-simplified. Yet it accords with the general pattern that emerges from my longer, more passive observation. First offenses of a minor kind, such as 'bad talk' or malingering, are punished by reprimand and warning from the chiefs (the paramount chief, Sarfert says; probably so in most cases). Repeated offenses of these kinds will be punished by confiscation of property (Sarfert specifies a canoe)."

2: Damm et al. - 192 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 685, 627 Faraulep

If any one steals nuts, the whole village is called to the "big" house; it is then blocked off with a rope, and the thief is not allowed to enter until he has made amends to the chief. If the thief cannot be caught, the natives go to his house and take anything that they want.